

**PRODUCERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT (free market anarcho-syndicalism?)**  
**Ralph Fucetola III**



Whether or not anyone has the right to exclusive control of the things of this world (property rights?) one concept is certain: an aggressor has no right to keep the loot he's taken by force. Force in today's context must include at least: the state's monopolies, tariffs, quotas, subsidies, government contracts, ~~patents~~ and fair price laws. Every ruling elite corporation which has indulged in exploiting us all\* by using these devices is nothing more than a pile of stolen loot: booty which any victim has a right to take from the thieves. But certainly real labor has been used to create these enterprises and sometimes people's needs are met, thus those individuals in an enterprise who are responsible for actual production should have a first claim on the loot: it is only just that the producer (including everyone from janitor to some executives) have control of his product and the process that enables it to be made. What of innocent (non-ruling elite) stockholders? In reality they never had real control of the enterprise, thus, if their investment is treated as a bond, they lose nothing. Therefore the basis for producers' self-management is manifest: control (ownership?) follows production, by the mixing of one's labor with the things of this earth.

How does this differ from socialist notions of workers' control? Those notions divide into two types: marxist/leninist/trotskyite rhetoric and anarcho-syndicalist theory. First the state-socialists: one leninist lacky said, in 1918, that the Russian economy must be centralized under state control "so that the workers don't go away thinking that the factories belong to them..." Workers' control (which ultimately meant party-appointed union hacks sitting on state economic boards) was merely "the instrument by which the universal economic plan must be put into effect locally..." (First Trade Union Congress, 1918). What this led to in practice was, for example, taking control from the workers' committees which had seized the factories and state-owned railroads etc. and enforcing "iron labor discipline..." (Decree of March 26, 1918 of the Council of Peoples' Commissars) and the "militarization of labor" (Trotsky's term). So much for the bolsheviks.

The anarcho-syndicalists have always opposed state-socialist attempts to control the people. Their theory is that workers will take back their factories and form voluntary workers' committees to run things, electing workers to regional, national and international bodies to "plan" the economy democratically--from the bottom. While this is an improvement over autocratic central planning from the top, it suffers the error of all planning: insufficient feedback, impossibility of knowing the peoples' needs beforehand. Only the free market can provide true economic control from the bottom--by the consumers--and only it can provide the delicate, constant changes in production necessary to meet the needs of the people. Perhaps the growing economic success of Yugoslavia will prove this in practice. In theory, the free market is the ideal "non-system", with its emphasis on voluntary exchange and ability to provide, not only the needs of the masses, but also the needs of small groups and individuals who could never muster the support necessary to have their desires "planned". In a real sense, the free market reflects the ordered-anarchy of the natural world in its truly organic ability to respond to human needs.

Thus we should propose overall control of the economy by each individual as a consumer with specific control over enterprises by those who actually produce: producers' self-management and consumers' power--road to a truly free, prosperous society.

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 \*That doesn't mean ALL enterprises: some entrepreneurs have obtained their wealth honestly--we ought to protect their rights which derive from their own saved labor and entrepreneurial ability.

**GIVE EARTH  
 A CHANCE !**



**WARNING**

SEXUAL MATERIAL OF AN ADULT NATURE  
 THIS LITERATURE IS NOT INTENDED FOR MINORS AND UNDER  
 NO CIRCUMSTANCES ARE THEY TO VIEW IT, POSSESS IT, OR  
 PLACE ORDERS FOR THE MERCHANDISE OFFERED HEREIN

REFLECTIONS IN A POLLUTED RIVER

BY JOHN BROTSCHOL

On the weekend of October 31 and November 1, a number of RLA libertarians including myself went down to Washington, D.C. to attend a "tea party" sponsored by the National Taxpayers Union. The NTU's brochure cites some impressive statistics to justify the creation of their group: each year Congress and local governments continue to spend 10% more than the previous year, right now, the taxpayer is spending 44% of his working time just earning enough to pay all his taxes and since 1939 state and local taxes have risen 1700% (WOW!). The NTU hopes to mobilize enough support by the creation of local groups and co-operating with already existing tax groups to exert political pressure on politicians from Capitol Hill down to the local township committee to reduce taxation. The conference drew a relatively small crowd of 50 people but it was the best libertarian gathering, I have yet attended. The speakers included Ernie Fitzgerald who was fired from his position in the Defense Department for exposing the two billion dollar cost increase of the C-5A transport plane, Brad Lyttle of the War Tax Resistance, free market economist Murray Rothbard, author Harry Browne whose book "How you can profit from the coming devaluation" is currently on the best seller list, Karl Hess and WMCA radio commentator Jeffrey St. John. The speakers' main target was the military industrial complex who they blamed as the primary cause for today's oppressive taxation (over 70 billion dollars is allocated to the Pentagon). Brad Lyttle who gave one of the best addresses stated that his group is not paying telephone taxes (passed by Congress solely to support the Vietnam War) and income taxes in their attempt to put a dent into the war machine. The Executive Director of the NTU, James Davidson said his group will work closely with the War Tax Resistance people.

This conference brought home to me the excellent possibilities tax organizations offer to libertarians fighting both mic and its Vietnam War and the welfare mess. Here's our chance to sock it to both liberals and conservatives, so let's get in there and start pitching. The NTU's address is 415 Second St. N.E., Washington, D.C., 20002.

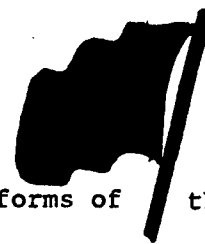
Many individuals have the idea that Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon) is a libertarian, after all, he sponsored legislation along with Barry Goldwater that would have eliminated the draft and replaced it with a volunteer military. In the second session of the 91st Congress, Hatfield and George McGovern sponsored an amendment that would have called for the complete withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam by December 31, 1971. He also has consistently voted against funds for the Antiballistic Missile System which only increases the arms race and our taxes. In the field of foreign relations, he's great but what about domestic issues. Senator Sam Ervin (D-N.C.) made a motion to table (kill) Senator Griffin's (R-Michigan) amendment commonly known as "no knock" Griffin's amendment would authorize an officer to use forced entry without notice in executing a search warrant for dangerous drugs if the judge issuing such a warrant is satisfied that there is probable cause to believe that if such notice is given, the property sought will be destroyed or the life of the officer will be endangered. Hatfield voted AGAINST the Ervin motion (he's a little weak on repression). The Senator from Oregon also voted in the 91st Congress to increase funds to higher education to a total of \$1,046,670,000 - the NTU wouldn't like that. Hatfield also voted to override Nixon's veto to the Education bill that allocated \$4,420,145,000 for the fiscal year 1971 for programs administered by the Office of Education. And the list grows, as Hatfield continuously votes to increase the welfare bureaucracy and further repress the taxpayer. I hope this will stop the talk about Hatfield being a libertarian individualist, he's nothing more than a liberal and when his is limited and the war goes, he should go. \*\*\*\*\*

During the election campaign, President Richard Nixon came to New Jersey's Teterboro Airport to lend his support to the senatorial bid of Republican Nelson Gross. While making his speech in a half filled airplane hanger, 100 college radicals including Ralph and myself started chanting, "PEACE NOW, PEACE NOW!" When Nixon outlined his plan for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam by 1984, we responded by shouting "BULLSHIT!" The hanger amplified our voices as "our" president continued his rap, "We must decentralize government and return power to the people!" The students answered with "RIGHT ON!" & Tricky Dick was fit to be tied. An angry Nixon now coined that immortal phrase, "one vote is worth a hundred obscenities" and held Gross' hand high in the air. The Republicans filmed this affair & ran it as a T.V. commercial for their candidate (We made television, WOW!). It didn't help however, as Nelson was buried in a landslide by a reformed drunkard.

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by John Brotschol, Ralph Fucetola, Bill Baumgart, W.B. Conger, Steve Halbrook, Geoffrey Hall, Don Melnshausen and F. X. Richter; subscriptions are \$2/ year to LABS.

(TENTATIVE) RADICAL LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE STATEMENT

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We, as radical libertarians, affirm:

- that individuals must be free to organize their lives, and the forms of their communities and societies on whatever voluntary bases they choose;
- that any attempt to introduce violence into social relationships is a crime committed against each one of us: the ruling class and their states murder, tyrannize and loot us in order to maintain their predatory position of privilege; thus the state and its tenacles of power constitute the major criminal element in society today--it must be isolated and destroyed; alternate institutions can respond to all the needs and life-styles of the people;
- \* that as revolutionaries, we reject mere parliamentary reformism; we reject power-plays that always substitute one state tyranny for another: political power must be decentralized and ultimately abolished, not seized; we must take control over our own lives. We are truly enemies of the state!

war is murder; conscription is slavery; taxation is theft--government is chaos!

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IN A LETTER FROM THE PHOENIX ANARCHIST COALITION:

We almost had the nation's first Panther-type rla-police shoot-out in Ann Arbor last week. The grunts got a warrant on one of our members (for dope) and showed up at dawn with 20 pigs in uniform with sub-machine guns and grenade launchers, and surrounded the house, while 6 detectives, with drawn revolvers in hand, battered down the door of the house. They rushed in and jumped on top of brother Mark as he and his room-mate were groggily reaching for their guns. Mark is from one of our high-school organizing efforts, is 18 years old, and a determined Stirnerite, who had been ready to fight to the death rather than submit to arrest. He is now out on bail, indicted on several counts of drug possession and also possession of an unregistered pistol.

FREE MARK JONES, POLITICAL PRISONER OF USA FASCISM!! FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!!!

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THE RIGHT TO RULE IN THE MIDDLE EAST Part II by Imad-a-Din Ahmad

(In Part I, the author suggested that the only theory of property rights which would deny the people of Palestine the right to regain their land was "the theory of the State--the theory of Might, of the moral pre-eminence of brute force...")

Who has the right to rule over this land? The answer to this question is easy: no one. The determination of the use of land is the right of its inhabitants, assuming that the inhabitants acquired the land by morally acceptable means. If they wish to co-operate with their neighbors through some form of communal government, that is their right; but that is self-rule. No one may rule "over" Palestine. Who are the Palestinians? It has been the function of the American propaganda machinery to imply that the aim of the Palestinians is to set up a theocratic state that would be a Muslim version of Israel. This is indeed propaganda. The Palestinian Liberation Organization has consistently pointed out that it wants rule by the indigents. This means rule by Muslims, Christians, and, yes, Jews. There are Christian and Jewish members of the Parlaiments of almost every Arab country. The same semitic Jews whom are now persecuted by the Israeli government would be treated--and are treated--as equals by their brother Palestinians. The current rulers of Israel are Europeans, not semites, and their racist treatment of not only the Arabs in Israel, but also the semitic Jews has caused many a "liberated: American Jew to return from Israel as an anti-Zionist.

By what moral criterion do the European rulers of Israel claim their right to rule Palestine? The answer is none. They do not seek a moral justification,<sup>2</sup> they base their claim on the Balfour Declaration. And what is the Balfour Declaration? It is the state of Great Britain turning over the land of the people who inhabit it to the Zionists; it is one band of thieves making a gift of stolen property to another band of thieves.

By what means can justice be established in Palestine? Libertarian elements, and radical elements too, in the United States have split on the Palestine question; illustrating

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# RULING IN THE MIDDLE EAST cont'd.

the complexity of the situation. Most disappointing (and sobering) to me personally was to learn that Ayn Rand is pro-Israel. If Miss Rand chooses to be irrational, there is nothing I can do about it; but the fact is that it is she herself who provides the answer to our last question. Her definition of justice is that no man can claim a right to the "unearned and undeserved". The land of Palestine should be returned to those who earned the right to it, by working it and caring for it. The ideal solution would be for the state of Israel to renounce itself and to freely return the land to the Palestinian individuals who rightfully own it, charging the expenses of restitution to the Zionist individuals who have reaped its benefits in the interim. We know that will never happen. The actions of Israel in 1948, 1956, and 1967 show that its only concern is stealing more land. The State has never in history given up its power voluntarily. If this is true, then what is left? Who will be the champion and protector of the people? The answer is: the people themselves. If the state of Israel thinks might makes right--and it does--let us see what happens when it faces the might of the angered rightful owners of the land of Palestine. The Middle East has changed since 1967. It isn't the state of Israel against the state of Egypt anymore, it isn't even the state of Israel against the state of Jordan anymore; it is the state of Israel against the people--an armed and angry people. I have no doubt what the outcome will be.

2-This is not to say that Zionist rhetoric does not appeal to moral sentiment, but the Balfour Declaration is the Zionists' only consistent political claim to power. The religious appeal to biblical prophecy is a front. In the first place the Zionists were (initially) opposed by orthodox Jews who pointed out that the return of the Jews to Israel was supposed to happen by divine intervention, not by imperialism. Secondly, most of the ruling class in Israel are now atheists, and religious arguments from them is mere hypocrisy. The appeal to Justice, that the Israelis deserve the land because of the way they were treated in Europe is sheer doubletalk. It was not the Palestinians who persecuted them in Europe.

RED-HERRINGS---& RED, WHITE & BLUE-HERRINGS TOO! by Lysandor Newton Danneskjold

(In all too many cases political debate takes place between "socialists" and "capitalists". This is unfortunate because two greater red-herrings than "socialism" and "capitalism" do not exist. Let us consider "socialism" first.)

For the libertarian, the first, foremost, and practically only question about a political doctrine is, "IS IT IN FAVOR OR OPPOSED TO THE INITIATION (OR THREAT) OF AGGRESSION AGAINST NON-AGGRESSORS?" It is based on the answer to this question that we decide whether the political doctrine is consistent with libertarianism. Well, how does "socialism" answer the question? The trouble with "socialism", and the reason that "socialism" is a red-herring is that there is not one but two answers! According to what I shall call voluntary socialism, a group of people band together and share their honestly earned possessions (earned through through homesteading, trade, or recieved as gifts) according to some socialistic credo; perhaps on the basis of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need". They neither steal the just property of others nor force them to join the commune. The modern family in many respects resembles a voluntary commune especial in the relationship between the parents and the children; i.e., the parents do not usually insist that the little kiddies earn enough to support themselves. They are usually fed based on their need, not their ability to "pay". Many "utopias", collectives, kibbutzes, etc, were and are run on these principles and as such are completely consistent with libertarianism. (their alleged inefficiency is irrelevant; even if correct, it would only prove that people are spending their money in an inefficient or foolish way; but economic theory cannot prove voluntary socialism inefficient because there is no theory on the "correct" way to spend--all that economics can say is that if there is any correct way for people to spend their money it is based solely on their utility preferences; but this is precisely what people who voluntarily decide to join a commune do: they consult their utility preferences and act). Nor can it be said that the free market system is somehow more in line with libertarianism: how you spend your money and on what basis you (voluntarily) associate with your fellow creatures (sharing or not) has to do with what you do with your liberty. Libertarianism is only concerned with attaining liberty so that we can each do our own thing--whatever that is.

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RED HERRINGS cont'd.

JOIN THE

COERCIVE SOCIALISM ON THE OTHER HAND FORCES PEOPLE TO COMMUNE. Coercive socialism (or state-socialism) is sometimes defended with reference to exploitation theory. According to exploitation theory, labor produces the whole product: any subtraction from this total product for interest, rent and especially for profit constitutes virtual theft from, and hence exploitation of the worker. Before answering this claim, two points: 1. This equating of exploitation with theft is entirely correct and indeed forms the basis of the libertarian class analysis (see The State by Oppenheimer and volume III of LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS, forthcoming), which, needless to say, is vastly preferable to the Marxist class analysis. 2. If it is true that labor produces the whole product (if the labor theory of value is correct) then this would be very similar to the free market ethic that production is the ultimate basis of legitimate private property rights, for what more would Marx be saying than that the people who produce the product ought to be allowed to keep it.

The views that labor alone produces the whole product and the labor theory of value (a thing has value in proportion to the labor expended on it) are incorrect, however. PROFIT CAN EXIST WITHOUT THERE BEING ANY THEFT OR EXPLOITATION. To see this let us consider the underdeveloped country, Rurutania, where things are uncomplicated, so much so that there is no problem of capital goods (there are none) and no farming; land is superfluous, so there is no rent. The Rurutanians hunt wild grimbies with their bare hands; not only are there enough grimbies so that no one goes hungry, but things are so simple that there is not even any income inequality: all Rurutanians can catch 10 grimbies per day on the average. This is important. Some days different people do especially well or poorly: A might catch 8 one day, 15 the next and 7 the next; B might catch 2 one day, 3 the next, but 25 the next day. In the long run it averages out to 10 per day for each of the equally capable Rurutanians. But not all people feel the same way about the variation in the catch. Some may even enjoy the suspense involved, but, as it happens, most would rather have 10 each day for sure rather than not knowing how well they will eat that nite. As a matter of fact, most hate the suspense so much that they would rather have 7 for sure than average 10.

One Rurutanian, more enterprising than his fellows, perhaps, offers others the following deal: A will guarantee B 8 grimbies every day providing that B give A his daily catch whatever that turns out to be. Now the understanding is that B is just as free to give A his daily catch in return for 8 grimbies as he is to refuse and continue things as they were. Is there any theft implied in this offer? Certainly not. B benefits because he values a certain 8 more than a merely probable 10. A benefits by 2 grimbies per day on the average. Any B who feels that this offer would exploit him is perfectly free to spurn it. We have here a case of profit without exploitation. The worker does not get the whole product, because he does not produce the whole product. Actually what is being produced is not just grimbies, but rather grimbies plus security (of obtaining them on a regular basis). It is the production of this latter part of the total product that entitles the risk-bearer to his part of the total product.

The Marxist view on profits as the reward for risk-bearing is really a puritanical attack on gambling and betting. For what more is A (the employer) doing than offering B (the employee) a bet that he (B) will not run into a streak of bad luck where he catches less than 8 grimbies per day? If B catches less than 8, B gains at A's expense; if B catches more than 8, A gains at B's expense. But no more happens were A or B to win or lose a bet. When coercive socialism tries to forbid voluntary contracts between employers and employees it is forbidding voluntary gambling, for in reality, as far as profit is concerned, the employer-employee relationship is identical to a betting relationship.

As for the labor theory of value, it may quickly be disposed of by realizing that regardless of whether or not people choose to go on diets, the same amount of labor effort is embedded in an average bushel of wheat. Since massive dieting will lower the value of wheat, the labor embedded in the wheat simply cannot be the only determinant of its value.

(We shall consider the red-herring involved in "capitalism" in the next issue.)

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why is agnew against "permissiveness"?  
because:

PERMISSIVENESS is just another word for FREEDOM  
don

## THE TRAGEDY OF AUSTRIAN ECONOMICS

BY STEVE HALBROOK

More than Jevons or Walras, it was Menger who really laid the rudiments of the marginal utility school of economics, thereby revolutionizing pure economic theory and founding the Austrian school. Logically, subjectivist economics were the economics of anarchism: the primacy of the individual and the absolutely free market were radically and totally embodied in the very postulates of Menger's new theory. Had Menger been a libertarian, he would have spelled out in detail the philosophy of free market anarchism, integrating economics with history and sociology the better to make a totally convincing case assailing the old order of state capitalism and calling for revolutionary action. But since Menger was solely a pure economist, he refused to deal with political economy. In the famous preface to the second edition of his Principles, Jevons made the call to drop the "political" from political economy; Menger had already followed this method in the Grundsätze, and gave his formal apology of it in the Methodenstreit with Schmoller. Critics, not without reason, saw this as a trick by economists whose sympathies were with the old order to dispose of dealing with the embarrassing problems of reality and hence justice. Restricting the scope in this way may have been a boom to pure economics in that it occasioned greater specialization, but it did so at the cost of being relevant to the pressing social problems of the age. (Actually, Menger's behavior was rather logical: Emil Kauder points out that Menger "was not a consistent defender of free competition" and "has an outspoken resemblance to the welfare economists of today"--i.e., he was something of an early corporate liberal).

Bohm-Bäwerk was even more of a tragedy. With such a brilliant mind, had he been a consistent libertarian he could have done wonders for radicalizing the masses with his writings; indeed, as it was, he frightened the Junker ruling class, whose apologists, the German Historicists, readily attacked Bohm-Bäwerk. In the realm of pure economics, he totally exploded once and for all the older value schemes and laid down the theoretical ramifications of the relation of savings to capital. However, such was bound to fail to appeal to well intentioned political activists for two reasons. One, he generally restricted himself to pure economics, ignoring the political and social implications for the society he lived in of subjectivist economics. Second, and most important, one does not have to read between too many lines to infer that he was defending the status-quo elite ownership of the means of production by assuming it had resulted from the categories his theory described, such as the time preferences of the owners of capital, instead of recognizing that the distribution of wealth then existing was the result of vast State thefts. He took it as natural that a small elite would own the means of production while the working masses, because of their time preferences, would be wage earners. In so doing he helped identify Austrian economics with the interests of the State monopoly capitalist ruling class.

Bukharin, one of the most libertarian of the Bolsheviks, read Bohm-Bäwerk's books and heard him lecture in Vienna, and decided to answer Bohm-Bäwerk in a book he entitled not unjustly THE ECONOMIC THEORY OF THE LEISURE CLASS. Naturally, Bukharin was bound to fail when he attempted to defend the classical economics Bohm-Bäwerk had so totally demolished. Nevertheless, Bukharin was destined to be the more relevant of the two: over and over he traced the great social problems of the age to the System then existing, which he pointed out as ownership by a small elite of the means of production. Had Bohm-Bäwerk been relevant, he would have quit parroting that government has as its purpose the commonweal and recognized that the distribution of wealth was not at all the result of the masses' time preferences, but, as Bukharin knew quite well, a result of the class nature of the State.

Hence instead of being a revolutionary Bohm-Bäwerk went on writing works for the ruling class to hide behind, worked for the Imperial Austrian government in the tax-theft department and was satisfied with the system. Bukharin, who really won the contest between the two (he was right, even if for the wrong reasons), became one of the great libertarians of the age. "A Bolshevik Bastiat, he extolled les harmonies économiques of Soviet society under NEP," as Isaac Deutscher describes Bukharin, the leader of the fight for free enterprise for Russia's masses from Lenin's death till 1928. He was the last to lash out in print against Stalin's forced collectivization, after which this head of the "Soviet Manchester school of thought" (Preobrazhensky) was purged.

But the greatest tragedy among Austrian economists has been Ludwig Von Mises. Despite his avowed eternal war on stateology, he has never been able to unshackle his mind from the most basic statist fallacies; he never fully rejected the brainwashing of the Dual Monarchy, who educated him at the U. of Vienna and in whose imperialist army he served as captain of artillery in the First Great Imperialist War. In pure, abstract economic theory Mises is the greatest economist of our age: with his methodological individualism, subjective value theory,



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praise of voluntarism and the market, vindication of free banking, and polemics against state socialism and interventionism, Mises set many of us on the road to consistent Misesianism, i.e. anarchism.

Yet among political activists who have the free society as their goal and hence are revolutionaries, few indeed prefer Mises to Marx. Why is this so? In spite of his avowed role as a pure economist, Mises is objectively a political economist because he comments so often on the problems of the age. And on virtually every point he has taken the side of reaction. After raising up his glorious "monopoly of coercion & compulsion" as a golden calf to which all owe obedience, tribute, and military service, he goes on to praise Amerika, one of the most oppressive states in the history of man. As a Great Western chauvinist he denies that imperialist aggression caused the material backwardness of the "inferior" East; as an apologist for Amerikan big business he sings hymns of praise to them and lashes out against those dogs known as "labor" and (gasp!) "unions." Conveniently, after admitting the origins of much present property ownership was violence, he pleads that the criminals should get away with their crimes. While recognizing the eternal tendency of the State to intervene in the economy to benefit "pressure" at the expense of others, his clear bias leads him to blame all such legislation as a plot of the poor against the rich. To a point one can sympathise with Mises; after all, Kolko-Weinstein revisionism is recent. Yet his class prejudices stand out beyond this & he sets up as a principle the assertion that the State always plunders the rich to benefit the poor, instead of vice versa. Had he used the tools of Austrian analysis wisely, he would have discovered who is forever the gainer of State intervention in the economy: the rich, the ruling class.

For all his defects, Marx's economic writings are much more relevant to social problems than Mises'. Recognizing the grossly uneven distribution of wealth, his cry was expropriate the expropriators--whereas Mises' was let the criminals keep their loot. Marx knew full well elite ownership of the means of production could not have resulted from a free society. So what did he do? Rather than claiming that the best of all possible worlds existed & the nice capitalists, loving the free market as they did, were harbingers of utopia for all workers, he rumaged thru hundreds of historical records & discovered the true culprit for the oppression of the masses: the State. Thus in Vol. I of Capital he reported how the State guaranteed a monopoly of all land to the ruling landlord class, expropriated what little land the peasants had, legislated maximum wage rates, played Robin Hood in reverse by taxing the poor to give to the rich, & so on & on & on to loot the masses & monopolize the means of production for the rich. Marx clearly recognized that the free market had no hand in this: "In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, play the great part." In a statement which Mises severely criticises, since he believes the masses should be conscripted & sent to the slaughter pit "to protect their country," Marx stated that the workers had no country & called upon them to overthrow the oppressive old order.

Marxists recognized the sickness of the System; the Austrians went on assuming that all was well & it was only natural that all property be reserved for the few. The workers should be good niggers & stay in their place. Is it no wonder that virtually everyone in the world knows the name Marx while only a scattered few have so much as heard of Mises? On the basis of faulty economics but valid history Marxism teaches that the people should take back what is theirs; disregarding the valid pure economics they taught & basing themselves on faulty history, the Austrians championed the "rights" of stolen property instead of the people's private property.

It should be obvious what the task of the libertarian is: to totally revise & apply to reality true free market economics, making it relevant to today's social problems. We must be political economists of the first order. For the critique of the present system of state monopoly capitalism we must draw on the vast reserves of Marxist tomes which find the State behind the oppression of the masses; Marx, Luxemburg, Baran, Sweezy, Mandel, & a host of others have given us most of the interpretations & empirical evidence to back it up that we need. Our task is to employ this evidence to substantiate the validity of radical normative Austrian economics. Contrary to past deviations, free market economics must be used to destroy, not to vindicate, the System; it must be used to usher in, not to prevent, people's market anarchism. Without such total revision, Austrian economics--logically the most radical economics conceivable--will forever remain where objective reactionaries such as Mises have placed it: in the covers of dusty books instead of in the reality of acting man.

CAN COMMUNISM BE ANARCHISM? --Mark Luccarelli (with a little help from his friends)

This article is a defense of Individualist Anarchism from an attack by Ken Brown ("Towards a Truly Free Society" THE ABOLITIONIST, May, 1970). His "Free Society"--better known as "Anarcho-communism"--is a contradiction in terms since the philosophy of Libertarianism or Anarchism is in direct contradiction with that of communism.

"Individualist Anarchism" is a philosophy which recognizes the sovereignty of the individual. In all past societies--all operated by states--the few ran the government to benefit from the oppressed majority. Under "communism", we are told, the majority would use the state--the instrument of oppression--to reverse the situation. True Anarchism is opposed to both these uses of politics. It calls for total laissez-faire, all encompassing competition. Individuals would secure the full product of their labor--including property and materials. They would exchange their property voluntarily, probably using various monies. Thus both capital and labor will be in a state of competition. Capital will then lose its privileged position in relation to labor. And centralized, state-corporate industry with its benefits to a few and neglect of the many will cease to exist.

"Anarcho-communism" is a system by which all property and material is owned collectively. Private property is considered theft from "the people". Anarcho-communists claim to be anarchists because they believe in crushing central authority: the state. The typical anarcho-communist dreams that all men will voluntarily collectivize, providing "free" services and sharing property. This is sheer fantasy, absurd utopianism; and many anarcho-communists, realizing this, retreat from anarchism to call for coerced collectivization directed by an elite "revolutionary" party.

Equal distribution of property without unanimous consent is a violation of the right of each individual to secure the fruits of his labor. All the mumbo-jumbo about a person not gaining the right to exclusive use of unowned property by mixing his labor with it ('cause the things of this world are here "for" all of us without effort) notwithstanding, when some gang takes a man's just property, they are establishing coercion, not liberty. What kind of freedom or anarchy is that? This is the glaring contradiction in "anarcho-communism": suppose two men under this system desire to make a trade with their own medium of exchange; or maybe one man wants to own the land he uses at the exclusion of others. Would "anarcho-communism" permit this? If "yes", then it admits the existence of private property and self-ownership and we have no quarrel. If, however, it wants to remain communist, it must answer "no" and thereby place the "rights of the people" over the individual, something entirely alienated from anarchism. The next step would be to form "Committees of Enforcement" to make sure that individuals do not trade freely and to enforce "cooperation" with the rest of the "Free Society"...the state rampant again.

Now, on the other hand, under true libertarianism, if any want to occupy and collectively own land, and run a communist village--fine...but remember, laissez-faire! This is not to say all libertarians and anarchists should not work together against our enemy, the state, for we share much in common (and in the nearly "post-scarcity" utopia of the future, even our economic differences will become trivial)--but we individualists also share much in common with the masses of the people who do not want forced sharing of property--when government and communist schemes are exposed as such--rather, after justice is established, they would simply want to be left alone.

CULTURE CORNER:

we're all prisoners,  
aren't we?

marching off in  
our chains,

shackled upon us by  
our master, the state.

marching off to  
defend our

freedom, which we must  
share with the world.

\*\*\*\*\* -- W.B. CONGER \*\*\*\*\*  
THE HEROIC ABOLITIONIST IS A MEMBER  
OF THE LIBERTARIAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

THE QUOTE OF THE MONTH :

A political source on election night said, "Senator Edward Kennedy wanted to win this one for Mary Jo."

THE ABOLITIONIST

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